1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"gɛla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[2] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[2] *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV.[1] The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsŭm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yū), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mŭm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

[1] [see cat. 116) pp. 334 35. – AN.]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [415] [412] [846] [262]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then [222]

[p.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) —Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-388). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

[562]
[226]
[841]
[886]

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P.382, B]

222 527 787 791 [211] "This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more.[12]

[782] "Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791 Suzie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1959, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, megal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114 Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of semiunity and prosperity.

[756] Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527 Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11] Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used nominally.

[124] [12] No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

●222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 791 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

527 222 754

[756]

[P.383, B]

222 527 [754]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction [177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [80] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 824

The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de- [782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢im¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

342 [178] [768]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use. [251]

222 ● 242

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

342 [361] [312]

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

[823] [821]

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

[513] [354]

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasus) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household. 592 596

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale stega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek. 592 596 361 221 222

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor 592 596 433

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

439 [114]

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others.

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The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods.

Payment for Services

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A payment for services was given to midwives (demedugetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure: If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a "payment" rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed.

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The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services.

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

I [see cat. 116, end plate I, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individaully or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

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756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

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[787] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts [782] without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.
[535]

222 Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo.
824 The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat
527 by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days
[791] remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the
[262] leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a
[211] large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer
[624] hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to
527 take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and
[515] races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties op-
[525] posed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football,
[616] a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[415] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926,
[782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw
[782] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
492 ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

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177 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
492 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
764 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
423 eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or
[233] Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were
[313] made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water,
[464] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of
177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses
222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather-
492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible
177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in-
241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo
971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School,
[492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

NWA 782 796

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	Al
398. Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
401. Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
402. To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
403. To spirit	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
404. With prayer	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
405. Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
406. Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 232 252 251

Gathering

410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
413. Grinding in mortar (puruam)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Plants

433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (nava or matse)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
435. "Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
436. Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
437. Needles brushed off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
438. Roasted in ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
439. Roots	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

443. Pinon Nuts (tava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	*	+	*
443a. Hooked pole (taam) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
445. End fire bent	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
451a. Piled on ground, covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453. Cooked seeds stored	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
454. By burning	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
457. Unlined pit	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
458. Grass lined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
462a. In mortar	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
463. Parching	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+

NWA [462] [N23 262]

[p.374]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Other Plants and Seeds Used														
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (akšpē)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paeš)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akš)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483d. Sunflower (kusiake)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483e. Sunflower (kusipaoš)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhawa)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sazakō)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483i. Saltbrush (sūm)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	+	+	+	.
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483kk. Rabbit brush (mogodūhupi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	–	+	.	+	+	.
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihowi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivamo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pawia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	.	.
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavē)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483t. Spike rush (pamsaive)	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	.
*483v. Sagebrush (samava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483w. Saltbrush (unaka)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483x. masai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483y. ommosigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*483z. hiwovi	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*484. Jointfir (tsuhupi)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.
*484a. saiagava	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	–	+	.	.	.	.
*484b. Indian balsam (tosa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	.
*484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	.
*484e. yapē	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*484f. tsupagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	–	–	.
*484g. tūvsa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*484h. tōvusi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	.
484i. Indian potatoes (oomaa?) (suga or higa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484j. Indian potatoes (ayutsō)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pōrē)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
485. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A ● 262 222 ● 251 252 N W A [261] N W A 137 222 262 N W A [276] N W A 222

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 222

	Yo	Kl	KR	MR	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	AT
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuawi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tĕmaymono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
495. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
500. Wooden	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

NWA 241

506. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+

Seed Storage

NWA 251

521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
527. Storage in cave	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
528. Storage in rock crevice	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Food Preparation

NWA 317

529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
530a. Trade from south	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
540. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
542. Mixed with berries	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
552. Pulverized	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
553a. Only fish bones ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
554. Ground bone cooked	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+